A SPEECH DELIVERED AT A CONFERENCE with the LORDS *January*, XXV. MDCXLI.

By occasion of the PETITIONS from the *Citie* of LONDON, and the *Counties* of *Middlesex*, *Essex*, and *Hertford*.

By IOHN PYM, *Esquire*.

Published by Order of the HOUSE of COMMONS.

WHERETO
Are annexed two ORDERS of the said HOUSE.
THE ONE,
Containing the *Thankes* of the HOUSE, given to those of HERTFORDSHIRE.
THE OTHER,
For punishing of those who printed a false *Copie* of that PETITION, and other libellous *Pamphlets*.

London, Printed for *Charles Greene*, 1641.

JANUARY 25.

1641.

At a *Conference* betwixt both *Houſes*, concerning divers *Petitions* preſented to the *Houſe* of *Commons*; Maſter PYM appointed to mannage that CONFERENCE.

My LORDS,

I Am commanded by the *Knights*, *Citizens*, and *Burgeſſes* aſſembled for the *Commons* in *Parliament*, to preſent to your *Lordſhips* divers *Petitions*, which they have received from ſeverall parts concerning the *State* of the *Kingdome*: whereunto they are chiefly moved by that *conſtant Affection*, which they have alwayes expreſt, of maintaining a firme *union* and good *correſpondence* with your *Lordſhips*; wherein they have ever found much *advantage*, and *contentment*; but never held it more important and neceſſary, then then at this time, wherein the *Wiſedome* and *Reſolution* of *Parliament*, have as many great *Dangers* and *Difficulties* to paſſe through, as ever heretofore.

We are united in the publique truſt, which is derived from the *Common-wealth* in the common *Dutie* and *Obligation* whereby God doth bind us to the diſcharge of that truſt: and the *Commons* deſire to impart to your *Lordſhips* whatſoever *Information* or *Intelligence*, whatſoever *Incouragement* or *Aſſiſtance* they have received from thoſe ſeverall *Countries*, which they repreſent, that ſo likewiſe wee may be *united* in the ſame *Intentions* and *Endeavours* of improving all to the ſervice of his *Majeſtie*, and the common good of the *Kingdome*.

The *Petitions* wh ch I am directed to *communicate* to your *Lordſhips*, are foure: from *London*, *Middleſex*, *Eſſex* and *Hertfordſhire*. We have received many more, but it would take up too much time, and be too great a trouble to peruſe all; and in theſe foure, you may perceive the *Effect* and *Senſe* of all: Firſt, I am to deſire your *Lordſhips* to heare them read, and then I ſhall perſue my *Inſtructions* in propounding ſome *Obſervations* out of them.

TO

TO THE

HONOVRABLE

THE

KNIGHTS, CITIZENS and BURGESSES, of the Houſe of COMMONS aſſembled in PARLIAMENT.

The humble Petition and Anſwer of the Major Aldermen, and the reſt of the Common Councell of the City of LONDON.

Sheweth,

THat the Committee of this Honourable Houſe upon Saturday the 22. of this inſtant *January*, ſent a meſſage to the Petitioners for the loane of one hundred thouſand pounds, or of ſo much thereof as could conveniently be forthwith raiſed, for levying of forces to ſuppreſſe the Rebels in *Ireland*; To which Meſſage ſomething was then anſwered, and a further anſwer in writing promiſed.

In performance whereof they humbly preſent the Anſwer following together with the Reaſons thereof, deſiring that the ſame being the beſt that for the preſent they are able to give) may favourably be accepted.

And they ſhall ever pray, &c.

The Anſwer.

THe Petitioners are duly and deeply ſenſible of the great miſeries of their Brethren in *Ireland*, and of the eminent danger, not onely of the totall loſſe of that Kingdome, but of the ruine of this alſo, if that of *Ireland* ſhould (which God forbid) be loſt. And as they have hitherto ſhewed themſelves ready, even beyond their abilities to ſerve the *King* and *Parliament*; ſo ſhall they ever continue to the utmoſt of their power, with all cheerefulneſſe and duty. But at the preſent they are compelled to repeat their former *Anſwer*: That they have no power to raiſe any Summes by way of Taxe for any Forreigne uſe; and doe further Anſwer, that they have no meanes to doe it, otherwiſe then by the immediate perſonall Conſent of every particular Lender, which they cannot hope to obtaine in regard of theſe obſtructions following: Which the Petitioners humbly preſent, together with this their further Anſwer, as the Reaſons thereof.

1. That immediately before the *Parliament*, and ſithence divers great Summes for the ſervice of the King and Kingdome have beene already lent by the Citizens of

of *London*, beſides 50000. *l.* for the ſupply of *Ireland*, in particular; a great part whereof, ſome of the Lenders were compelled to borrow, and cannot to this day repay.

2. That ſuch part of thoſe monies as are already due to the Citizens from the *Parliament*, and ſhould have beene repaid out of the *Pole-monies* and *Subſidies*, is not yet done, becauſe there is not any conſiderable ſumme come in from the Countrey as was expected to ſatisfie the ſame.

3. That the ſaid 50000. *l.* lent for *Ireland* was haſtned and ſpeedily paid within neare about 2000. *l.* upon this ground then urged by the *Parliament*; that if it were forthwith lent, it might be of more uſe to preſerve that Kingdome then the loane of 200000. could be, if deferred but ſix Weeks; yet no conſiderable Forces are ſent thither to this day. And wee find that men will not bee willing to lend any thing till they be aſſured that a good ſtrength be ſent thither with full Commiſſion to relieve *London Derry*, and other parts of that Kingdome.

4. The generall with-holding of very great Summes of money from the Petitioners, and many others, which monies have beene long due, not onely from *Chapmen* and other debtors in *England*; but from very many in *Ireland*, (who owe many hundred Thouſands of pounds to the Citizens of *London*) doth render divers perſons of good Eſtates and credit, hardly able to goe on with Trade, or to pay their debts, and maintain their Charge.

5. The Brotherly offer of *Scotland* to ſend 10000 men into *Ireland*, not yet ſo accepted as to produce any reliefe to that bleeding Kingdome, while yet our Brethren are daily maſſacred there, diſcourageth moſt men from lending any money, were they never ſo able.

6. The

6. The not passing the Bill for pressing of Soldiers here whereby such forces as are requisit might be timely sent from hence into *Ireland*, puts many men into feares, that there may be some designe rather to lose that Kingdom, and to consume this in the losing of *Ireland*, than to preserve either the one or the other; for that it cannot be conceived, that the Rebells (being growne so powerfull) will be suppressed by volunteires.

7. The slow issuing of Commissions to those who being in *Ireland*, or going thither, are willing to enter the field against the Rebells, disables them from doing any effectuall execution upon the enemy, unless in their owne defence; and so all the monies that have beene, or may be sent thither, are exhausted to maintaine our forces to doe little or nothing worthy of them, rather then imployed to chastise the Rebells, and to reduce them to obedience, by meanes whereof the number and power of the Rebels are greatly encreased, divers castles and townes are by them taken, much Protestant blood is daily spilt, many thousand families destroyed, the malignant part of Papists and their adherents here are encouraged, and those Rebells so much imboldned, that they boast, they will extirpate the British Nation there and then make *England* the seat of warre.

8. The not disarming of Papists here in *England*, after many discoveries of their treacheries, and bloody designes upon the Parliament and Kingdome, the great decays of Fortifications, Blockhouses & other Sea-forts, the not managing of them, nor furnishing them with Ordinance and Ammunition, the not placing all of them in such hands in whom the Parliament may confide, and the not settling this Kingdome in a posture of defence, in times of so many feares and jealousies of forreigne inva-

invaſions and inteſtine conſpiracies, the not removing the preſent Lievtenant of the Tower, and putting ſuch a perſon into that place, as may well bee approved by the Parliament, notwithſtanding the earneſt Petitions exhibited to this Honourable Houſe for that purpoſe, which hath produced a forbearance to bring Bullion into the Tower in this time of ſcarcity of monies, all which cannot but overthrow trading more and more, and make monies yet more ſcarce in the City and Kingdome.

9. The Kings Ships which ought to bee a wall of defence to this Kingdome, and a convay to the Merchants (for which Tonnage and Poundage was granted) are not fitted and imployed, as the preſent condition of this Kingdome and Ireland requires, but ſome of them for the conveying away of Delinquents, who durſt not abide the teſt of the Parliament, to the great encouragement of the reſt of the malignant party here, who when their deſignes and themſelves bee detected, know how to eſcape the hand of Juſtice through the abuſe of a Royall conduct.

10. The not queſtioning thoſe many thouſands of unknowne perſons, who are ſheltred in Covengarden, and thereabouts, which doe not employ themſelves in any lawfull calling, and it is very probable, lye in a readineſſe to adventure upon ſome deſperate attempt, to the endangering of the welfare, peace and ſafety of the Kings Majeſty, Parliament and City.

11. The miſunderſtanding betweene the King and Parliament, the not vindicating the priviledges of Parliament, the not ſuppreſſing of Protections, the not puniſhing of delinquents, and the not executing of all Prieſts and Jeſuits, legally condemned, while others contrary to the priviledge of Parliament have been illegally (as the Petitioners conceive) charged with Treaſon, to the deterring of worthy

Members from discharging their duties, and to the destroying of the very being of Parliaments, doe exceedingly fill the mindes of men well affected to the publike, with many feares and discouragements throughout the Kingdome, and so disable them from that cheerfull assistance which they would be glad to afford.

12. By meanes of the Premisses there is such a decay of trading, and such scarcity of money (neither of which can be cured, till the former evills bee removed) as it is likely in very short time to cast innumerable multitudes of poor Artificers into such a depth of poverty & extremity, as may enforce them upon some dangerous and desperate attempts not fit to be expressed, much lesse to be justified; which they leave to the wisdome of this House speedily to consider and prevent.

THese are the evills under which the Petitioners doe exceedingly labour and languish, which they humbly conceive to have sprung from the imploying of ill affected persons in places of Trust and Honour in the State, and neer to the sacred person of his Majesty; and that these Evills are still continued by meanes of the votes of Bishops and Popish Lords in the House of Peeres.

And now, that the Petitioners have faithfully represented the true Reasons which doe really enforce them to returne this answer, most of which have beene formerly offered to this Honourable House in sundry Petitions; and that they have done all that in them lies (even beyond all president) to serve the King, Parliament and Kingdome: They humbly crave leave to protest before God and the high Court of Parliament, that if any further miseries befall their dear brethren in Ireland, *or if any mischiefe shall breake in upon this Kingdome to the endangering or disturbing thereof, it ought not to be imputed to the Petitioners, but only to such as shall endeavour to hinder the effectuall and speedy cure of the evills before recited, that so much disable and discourage the Petitioners from doing that which by this Honourable House is desired of them.*

The Copy of Middlesex Petition was never printed, and therefore not inserted.

TO

To the

HONOVRABLE THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS and *Burgeſſes* of the *Houſe* of *Commons* in the High Court of PARLIAMENT.

The humble Petition of the Knights, Gentlemen, Miniſters, *and other* Inhabitants *of the* County of ESSEX.

Sheweth;

TO this Honourable Houſe, that wee are truly ſenſible of your great care and extraordinary endeavours to ſettle our Religion and peace, & dayly bleſſe God Almighty, and the Kings Majeſtie, the Peeres, and this honourable Aſſembly for the ſame. And we doe further in all humility repreſent to your honourable conſideration, that notwithſtanding your abundant care and induſtry, wee doe ſtill apprehend a great ſtop of Reformation in matters of Religion, and our ſelves together with you, and the whole Kingdome to bee in

great danger from the Papists, and other ill affected persons, who are every where very insolent, and ready to act the parts of those savage Blood-suckers in *Ireland*, if they be not speedily prevented; by meanes whereof our tradings, especially of clothing and farming, grow apace to so great a dampe, as many thousands are like to come to sudden want: Nor can we expect any redresse therof, unlesse the Bishops and Popish Lords be removed out of the House of Peeres.

Therefore we humbly pray, that you would earnestly mediate with his Majesty and the House of Peeres, that our Brethren in *Ireland* may be speedily relieved; The Papists throughout this Kingdome may be disarmed; and the Kingdome be put into such a war-like posture, for defence, as may be for it's safety; And that the Bishops and Popish Lords who (as we conceive) have hindred the successe of our godly endeavours, may be excluded the House of Peeres; Not doubting, but that then our Petitions formerly presented to this House, will receive the more full and speedy answer.

And your Petitioners (resolving in all just and honourable waies (according to our late Protestation*) to assist you in your Rights and Priviledges with our estates and Lives against the Enemies of God, the King and State; humbly pray,* &c.

TO

TO THE HONOVRABLE, THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons aſſembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition of Knights, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others, Inhabitants of the County of Hertford.

Sheweth:

THat this Church and Kingdome being by the Prelates, thoſe multitudes of corrupt and ſcandalous Miniſters (their Creatures) and the Popiſh party, concurring with them on the one hand; and by wicked Counſellors, evill Miniſters of State, and great ſwarmes of Projectors, and others ill affected to the peace of this Realme, on the other hand, brought to a ſad, and almoſt deſperate condition, and thereby the ſplendour of his Majeſties Crowne and dignity dangerouſly weakned and eclipſed, It pleaſed his Majeſty, having reſpect to the Petitions of Nobles and people in that behalfe, to call this preſent Parliament, the onely able meanes (under God) to reforme the many

preſſures and grievances of the Church and Kingdome, and to remove the cauſes thereof.

In which Parliament, to the honour of his Majeſtie, and comfort of his good Subjects, exemplarie Iuſtice hath been executed, Arbytrary Courts, Ship-money, Monopolies, and other illegall Impoſitions removed, the ſhedding of much blood prevented, by the late union between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and further hopes given us of perfecting what remaines by the happy continuance and much deſired progreſſe of this Parliament.

And although that malignant partie of Prelates and Papiſts, and their adherents (whoſe preſent ſtandings, and the happy ſucceſſe of this Parliament, as the Petitioners humbly conceive, are inconſiſtant) have by their manifold wicked practiſes and deſignes endeavoured to hinder all thorow reformatiom in Church and Common-wealth, to ſtifle in the birth and progreſſe all thoſe good Bills, and other preparations made by this Honourable aſſembly for that purpoſe, and eſpecially, for the reliefe of the Kingdome of *Ireland*, (the ruine whereof will endanger this Kingdome alſo.) To ſtop the influence of his Majeſties Royall favour in giving life thereto, to divide between his Majeſtie and this Honourable aſſembly, and to render you not onely contemptible, but alſo burthenſome to the people; yet the Petitioners, and as they verily, beleeve, all well affected to his Majeſtie, and the peace and proſperitie of this Kingdome, have, and ſtill ſhall continue an high and honourable eſteem of this worthy aſſembly and of your great and unwearied endeavours, and doe with the utmoſt expreſſions of their thankfulneſſe acknowledge the ſame, and the progreſſe and perfecting thereof, to be of great conſequence, and deepe neceſ-

ſitie

ſitie to the peace and welfare of this Church and Kingdom; and ſuch as without which not onely a refluxe of the former calamities, but even utter ruine and deſolation, like that, being too long continued in ſad and much lamented Ireland will apparantly enſue.

From the ſenſe whereof, and of the great and unheard of breaches lately made upon the Priviledges of Parliament, even to the endangering of the being thereof, wherein your Petitioners and their poſterity are much concerned. The Petitioners take upon them the humble boldneſſe to declare their readineſſe and great engagements according to their Proteſtation, to ſtand to, and defend to the utmoſt perill of their lives and eſtates, the Kings Majeſty and high Court of Parliament, with all the power and Priviledges of the ſame, and all your Honourable proceedings for the common good, againſt all Popiſh and other malignant oppoſers, who endeavour, either by evill counſel, ſecret plots, or open force, to hurt or prejudice the ſame, or to make diviſions betweene his Majeſty and the Parliament.

And the ſaid Petitioners humbly pray, that the Papiſts may be fully diſarmed, the Lawes againſt them executed, the Kingdome, and eſpecially this County, according to their late Petition in that behalf, put into a poſture of warre for their better defence; the forts and ſtrength of this Kingdome put into ſafe hands, which the Parliament may confide and truſt in; the Priviledges of Parliament repaired and throughly vindicated, and that this Honourable aſſembly (as hath beene lately deſired of you by the Citizens of London) will be a meanes unto his Majeſty and Houſe of Peeres, that life may be ſpeedily given to your good endeavours by their concurrence with you in taking away of the votes of Popiſh Lords and Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peeres, the ſpeedy and ſtrong reliefe of Ireland, the further puniſhment of Delinquents, the removall of the preſſures and grievances in Church and Commonwealth, and reforming of what is therein amiſſe.

For all which your Petitioners ſhall daily pray, &c.

Die

Die Martis 25. Jannar. 1641.

IT is this day Ordered by the Commons House of Parliament, that Master Speaker, in the Name of the House, shall give thankes unto Master Pym for his so well performing the service he was imployed in by the Commands of this House at this Conference. And it is further Ordered, that Master Pym be desired to put the Speech he made at this Conference into writing, and to deliver it into the House, to the end that it may be printed.

H. Elsynge *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

The Petitions being read by four ſeveral Members of the Houſe, Mr *Pym* reaſſumed his Diſcourſe.

My Lords,

IN theſe foure Petitions you may heare the voice, or rather the cry of all *England*, and you cannot wonder if the urgency, the extremitie of the condition wherein we are, do produce ſome earneſtneſſe and vehemency of expreſſion more than ordinary; the Agonie, terror, and perplexity in which the Kingdome labours, is univerſall, all parts are affected with it; and therfore in theſe you may obſerve the groanes and miſerable complaints of all.

Divers reaſons may bee given why theſe diſeaſes which are Epidemicall are more dangerous than others: The cauſe of ſuch diſeaſes is univerſall and ſupernall, not from an evill conſtitution, or evil diet, or any other accident: and ſuch cauſes work with more vigour and efficacy, than thoſe which are particular and inferior. 2. In ſuch diſeaſes there is a communicative quality, whereby the Malignitie of them is multiplied and enforced. 3. They have a converting, transforming power that turns other diſeaſes and evill affections of mens bodies into their owne nature.

The common and Epidemicall diſeaſe wherein this Commonwealth lies now gaſping hath a ſuperior and univerſall cauſe from the evill Counſells and deſignes of thoſe, who under his Majeſty beare the greateſt ſway in Government. 2. It hath a contagious and infectious quality, whereby it is diffuſed and diſperſed through all parts of the Kingdom. 3. It is apt to take in the diſcontents, evil affections, and deſignes of particular perſons to encreaſe and fortifie it ſelfe.

I ſhall take occaſion from ſeverall Branches of thoſe Petitions which your Lordſhips have heard, to obſerve.

1. The variety of *Dangers* to which this Kingdome is now ſubject.

2. The manifold diſtempers which is the cauſe of thoſe dangers.

3. The Multiplicity of thoſe evill Influences which are the cauſes of that diſtemper.

1 The variety of *Dangers*.

The firſt danger is from enemies abroad; this may ſeeme a

cauſeleſſe and impertinent obſervation at this time, ſeeing we are in peace with all Nations about us: But (my Lords) you may be pleaſed to conſider that the ſafety of the Kingdom ought not to depend upon the will and diſpoſition of our Neighbours, but upon our own ſtrength and Proviſion; Betwixt States there are often changes, from peace to war, according to occaſion and advantage. All the States of Chriſtendome are now Arm'd, and we have no reaſon to believe but that thoſe of greateſt Power have an evill Eye upon us in reſpect of our Religion: And if their private Differences ſhould be compoſed, how dangerouſly, how ſpeedily might thoſe great Armies and other Preparations now ready, be applyed to ſome Enterpriſe and Attempt againſt us? and if there were no other Cauſe, this were ſufficient to make us ſtand upon our guard; but there are divers more eſpeciall ſymptoms of dangers, of this kind.

We may perceive by ſeverall Advertiſements from abroad, that they did fore-ſee our dangers many Moneths before they broke out; They could fore-tell the Time and Manner of them, which is a clear Evidence, they held intelligence with thoſe which were the Contrivers and Workers of the preſent troubles.

We have many dangerous Traytors and Fugitives now in other parts, who can diſcover the weakneſſe and diſtemper of the Kingdom; who hold Intelligence with the ill-affected party here, and by all cunning and ſubtle practices endeavour to encite and provoke other Princes againſt us.

Some of the Miniſters of our neighbour Princes may be juſtly ſuſpected to have had a more immediate hand and operation in the Inſurrection and Rebellion of *Ireland*, many of the Commanders, and moſt of the Souldiers levied for the ſervice of *Spain* are now joyned with the Rebells there: and thoſe *Iriſh* Friars, which were employed by the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour for the making of thoſe Levies, are known to have bin chief Incendiaries to this Rebellion, and are ſtill very active in the proſecution and encouragement of it.

The Rebells have a ready and ſpeedy ſupply from ſome of our Neighbours. Two Convoyes of Munition and Arms we are certainly enformed of: one from *Dunkirk*, the other from *Nantes* in *Britany*: and certainly, thoſe that are ſo forward to enable others to hurt us, will not forbear to hurt us themſelves, aſſoon as they ſhall have means and opportunity to doe it.

Another

Another danger is from the Papists and ill affected Partie at home. The Papists here, are acted by the same Principles, with those in *Ireland*; many of the most active of them have lately been there; which argues an intercourse and communication of Councels. They have still store of Armes and Munition at their disposing, notwithstanding all our endeavours to disarm them, they have a free resort to the Citie and to the Court, they want no opportunities to consult together; they have the same or greater encouragements from above, and from about them, than ever, in respect of the example and successe of the Rebels in *Ireland*, and the great confusions and divisions which by their cunning and subtile practises, are raised and fomented amongst our selves at home.

3 A third Danger is of Tumults and Insurrections of the meaner sort of people: by reason of their ill vent of Cloth and other Manufactures, whereby great multitudes are set on work, who live for the most upon their daily gettings, and will in a very short time be brought to great extreamitie, if not employed; Nothing is more sharp and pressing then necessitie and want; what they cannot buy they will take; and from them the like necessitie will quickly be derived to the Farmours and Husbandmen; and so, grow higher, and involve all in an equality of miserie and distresse, if it be not prevented. And at this time such Tumults will be dangerous, because the Kingdome is full of disbanded Souldiers and Officers which will be ready to head and to animate the Multitude to commit violence with more strength and advantage: and if they once grow into a Body, it will be much more difficult to reduce them into order again, because necessity and want, which are the Causes of this disturbance, will still encrease as the effects do encrease.

A fourth Danger is from the Rebels in *Ireland*, not only in respect of that Kingdom, but in respect of this: They have seized upon the Body of that Kingdom already, they abound in men of very able bodies, they encrease in Armes and Munition, they have great hopes of supplies from abroad, of encouragement here, and are sure of good entertainment from the Popish party, so that they begin to speak already of the transporting themselves hither, and making this Kingdom the seat of the warre.

2 The *distemper* procuring the former Dangers.

The Distemper which hath produced these Dangers is various and exceeding violent. Whensoever nature is hindred in her

proper operations and faculties, diſtempers will neceſſarily follow.

The obſtructions which have brought us into this diſtemper, are very many; ſo that we cannot wonder at the ſtrength and malignity of it. Some of the chiefeſt of theſe obſtructions, I ſhall endeavour to remember.

1. The obſtruction of Reformation in matters of Religion: no Grievances are ſharper than thoſe that preſſe upon the tender conſciences of men; and there was never Church or State afflicted with more Grievances of this kind, than we have been. And though they are by the wiſedom of this Parliament partly eaſed and diminiſhed, yet many ſtill remain: and as long as the Biſhops and the corrupt part of the Clergie continue in their Power, there will bee little hope of Freedome either from the ſence of thoſe which continue, or the fear of thoſe which are removed. And of this obſtruction, (my Lords) I muſt clear the Commons, we are in no part guiltie of it: ſome good Bils have paſt us, and others are in preparation, which might have been paſt before this, if we had not found ſuch ill ſucceſſe in the other. Whatſoever miſchief this obſtruction ſhall produce, we are free from it: we may have our part of the Miſery, wee can have no part in the *guilt* or diſhonour.

2 An obſtruction in Trade; it is the Trade that brings food and nouriſhment to the Kingdome. It is that which preſerves and encreaſeth the ſtock of the whole, and diſtributes a convenient Portion of maintenance to every part of it: therefore ſuch an obſtruction as this muſt needs be dangerous; the Freedome of Trades being ſo neceſſary, the benefit ſo important, as that it gives life, ſtrength, and beauty to the whole Body of the Common-wealth: but I muſt proteſt the Houſe of Commons hath given no Cauſe to this Obſtruction; we have eaſ'd Trade of many Burthens, and heavie Taxes which are taken off: we have freed it from many hard reſtraints by Pattents and Monopolies; we have been willing to part with our own Priviledges, to give it encouragement; we have ſought to put the Merchants into Securitie and confidence in reſpect of the Tower of *London*, that ſo they might bee invited to bring in their Bullion to the Mint as heretofore they have done; and wee are no way guiltie of the Troubles, the feares, and publique dangers which make men withdraw their Stocks, and to keep their money by them,

to

to be ready for ſuch ſudden Exigents, as in theſe great diſtractions we have too much Cauſe to expect.

3. The obſtruction in the Reliefe of *Ireland*. It muſt needs be accompted a great ſhame and diſhonour to this Kingdom, that our Neighbours have ſhewed themſelves more forward to ſupply the Rebels, than we have been to releive our diſtreſſed brethren and fellow-Subjects. But I muſt declare that we are altogether innocent of any neglect herein. As ſoon as the firſt newes of the Rebellion came over, we undertook the Warre, not by way of Supply and Ayde, as in former Rebellions the Subjects have uſed to do, but we undertook the whole charge of it, and we ſuffered not 24 houres to paſſe, before wee agreed to a great Leavie of Money and Men, to be employed againſt the Rebells, even in a larger proportion, than the Lord Juſtices and Councell there did deſire: and from time to time wee have done all for the furtherance thereof, though in the midſt of many diſtractions and diverſions; but the want of Commiſſions for leavying Men, for iſſuing Armes, and divers other Impediments, have been the Cauſes of that Obſtruction; and I wiſh we had not onely found Impediments to our ſelves, but alſo Encouragements to them. Many of the chiefe Commanders, now in the Head of the Rebells, after we had with your Lordſhips concurrence ſtopt the Ports againſt all *Iriſh* Papiſts, have been ſuffered to paſſe by his Majeſties immediate Warrant, much to the diſcouragement of the Lord Juſtices and the Councell there; and, this procured, as wee beleeve, by ſome evill Inſtruments, too neere his Regall Perſon, without his Majeſties knowledge and intention.

4. The Obſtruction in proſecution of Delinquents: many we have already brought up to your Lordſhips: divers others wee have been diſcouraged to tranſmit; ſuch difficult proceedings have we met withall; ſuch terrors and diſcountenance have been caſt upon our ſelves and our witneſſes; and thoſe who have ſhewed themſelves their friends Patrons, have found it the moſt ready way to preferment; yea, his Majeſties own hand hath beene obtained, his Majeſties Ships employed for the tranſporting of divers of thoſe who have fled from the Juſtice of the Parliament.

5 A generall Obſtruction and interruption of the proceedings of Parliament, by thoſe manifold deſignes of violence (which through Gods mercy wee have eſcaped;) by the great and frequent

quent breaches of Priviledge; by the ſubtill endeavours to raiſe parties in our Houſe, and jealouſies betwixt the two Houſes.

6. The Obſtruction in providing for the Defenſe of the Kingdome, that wee might be enabled to reſiſt a forraine Enimy, to ſuppreſſe all Civill Inſurrections: and what a preſſing neceſſity there is of this, the exceeding great decayes in the Navy, in the Forts, in the Power of ordering the *Militia* of the Kingdome, and Means of furniſhing them with Munition, are ſufficient evidences, known to none better than to your Lordſhips, and what endeavour wee have uſed to remove them (but hitherto without that ſucceſſe and concurrence which we expected:) and where the ſtop hath been, and upon what good grounds we may claim our own innocency and faithfulneſſe in this, we deſire no other Witneſſes but your ſelves.

3. The *Influences* that have cauſed ſo great *Diſtemper.*

Laſtly, I come to the evill Influences which have cauſed this diſtemper, and I ſhall content my ſelfe to mention ſome few of thoſe which are moſt Apparent and Important.

1. In the firſt place, I ſhall remember the evill Councells about the King, whereof we have often complained. Diſeaſes of the Braine are moſt dangerous, becauſe from thence Senſe and Motion are derived to the whole Body The malignity of evill Councells will quickly bee infuſed into all parts of the State. None can doubt but wee have exceedingly laboured under moſt dangerous and miſchievous Councells. This evill Influence hath been the cauſe of the preparation of Warre with *Scotland*, of the procuring a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of corrupting Religion, ſuppreſſing the Liberty of this Kingdome, and of many fearfull and horrid Attemps, to the ſubverting the very being of Parliament, which was the only hopefull Meanes of oppoſing and preventing all the reſt: And this doth appeare to be a moſt predominant evill of the Time: whereat wee need not wonder, when wee conſider how Counſellours have been preferred and prepared. And I appeale to your Lordſhips owne Conſciences, whether the giving, and the countenancing of evill Councell, hath not been almoſt the onely way to favour and advancement.

2. The diſcouragement of good Councell: divers honeſt and approved Counſellours have been put from their places: others ſo diſcountenanced, as that the way of favour hath bin ſhut againſt them, and that of danger and deſtruction only open to them.

3. The

3. The great power that an intereſſed and factious party hath in the Parliament, by the continuance of the Votes of the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords in your Lordſhips Houſe; and the taking in of others both out of the Houſe of Commons, and otherwiſe, to encreaſe their ſtrength.

4. The fomenting and cheriſhing of a malignant party throughout the whole Kingdome.

5. The manifold jealouſies betwixt the King, his Parliament, and good ſubjects, whereby his protection and favour hath in a great meaſure beene withheld from them: their inclination and reſolution to ſerve and aſſiſt him, hath beene very much hindered and interrupted: We have often ſuffer'd under the miſ-interpretation of good Actions, and falſe importation of evill, which we never intended. So that wee may juſtly purge our ſelves from all guilt of being Authors of this jealouſie and miſ underſtanding: We have beene, and are ſtill ready to ſerve his Majeſty with our lives and fortunes, with much cheerefulneſſe and earneſtneſſe of affection as ever any Subjects were; and we doubt not but our proceedings will ſo manifeſt this, that we ſhall be as cleare in the apprehenſion of the world, as we are in the teſtimony of our own Conſciences.

I am now come to a concluſion, and I have nothing to propound to your Lordſhips by way of Requeſt, or deſire from the Houſe of Commons; I doubt not but your judgements will tell you, what is to be done; your Conſciences, your Honours, your Intereſts will call upon you for the doing of it; The Commons will be glad to have your helpe and concurrence in ſaving of the Kingdome; but if they ſhould faile of it, it ſhould not diſcourage them in doing their duty. And whether the Kingdome be loſt or ſaved (as through Gods bleſſing I hope it will be) they ſhall bee ſorry that the ſtory of this preſent Parliament ſhould tell Poſterity, that in ſo great a Danger and Extremity, the houſe of Commons ſhould be enforced to ſave the Kingdom alone, and that the Houſe of Peeres ſhould have no part in the Honour of the preſervation of it, you having ſo great an Intereſt in the good ſucceſſe of thoſe endeavours, in reſpect of your great Eſtates, and high degrees of Nobility.

FINIS.

Two Orders of the House of Commons.

Die Martis 25 Jannarii 1641.

THe House being informed that some Gentlemen of *Hertfordshire* were at the doore to present a Petition to this House, they were called in, & one in the name of the whole County presented their Petition, which done they withdrew, and the Petition being read, they were againe called in, and Mr. *Speaker* by command of the House told them, that the House findes their Petition full of great expressions of their affections, to serve the King and the Common-wealth, full of care and zeal for a through reformation in the Church and Common-wealth; for which this House gives them thanks, and as they have hitherto employed their endeavours, so they will continue their care for the reforming the grievances in the Church and Common-wealth; and for the other particulars expressed in your Petition, they will take it into consideration in due time.

H. Elsinge Cler Parl. De. Com.

Die Martis 25. Januarii 1641.

Martin Eldred of *Iesus* Colledge in *Cambridge* being brought to the Bar, saith that he did not compose the Petition in the name of *Hertfordshire* Petition, but one *Thomas Harbert* once of *Trinity* Colledge did compose it, and that he was in the company of the said *Thomas Harbert* when he composed it, and that it was composed at the signe of the *Antilope*, and afterwards sold to *John Greensmith* for halfe a Crowne.

John Greensmith the Stationer was called in, and did confesse, that *Eldred* and *Harbert* brought the Petition unto him, and that one *Bernard Alsop* of *Grub-street* Printed it. He likewise confesses that he had printed sundry Pamphlets of these mens composing, *viz.* Good Newes from *Ireland*, and bloody Newes, and the *Cambridge* Petition; that he gave halfe a Crowne a piece for them.

Resolved upon the Question.

That *Martin Eldred* shall be forthwith committed Prisoner to the Gate-House, there to remaine during the pleasure of the House.

Resolved, &c.

That *Thomas Harbert* shall be forthwith sent for, as a Delinquent, by the Sergeant at Armes attending on this House.

Resolved, &c.

That *John Greensmith* shall be forthwith committed Prisoner to the Gate-House, thereto remaine during the pleasure of the House.

Resolved, &c.

That *Bernard Alsop*, Printer, shall be forthwith sent for, as a Delinquent, by the Sergeant at Armes attending on this House.

H. Elsinge cler. Parl. De. Com.